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## **The Efforts of Islamic Splinter Movements to Withstand from Heretical Issue in Indonesia: Study of LDII, MTA and Jam'iyyatul Islamiyah**

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### **Abstract**

*This article discusses how the splinter movements in Indonesia, namely LDII (Lembaga Dakwah Islam Indonesia), MTA (Majlis Tafsir Al Quran) and JMI (Jam'iyyatul Islamiyah) can survive and develop against two constraints that are the state and Islamic orthodox group. The methods of this research-based article are both library and field research. This article uses comparative analysis from the three movements include their adaptive means to the social and political milieu in Indonesia. The movements start to grow in the 1970'. In New Order Era (1966-1998), under Suharto authoritarian regime, these movements use the state approach by joining Golkar, government political party, and help the party to win general elections. However, in the 1990 era, when Suharto starts to embrace the orthodox group, government protection to those religious groups is not enough to withstand the heretical issues that have already spread in public. The issues lead to physical persecution from the mass to these movements. Thus, the only way to survive from that conditions, the three movements start to make an approach to orthodox groups, especially MUI (Majlis Ulama Indonesia) the mainstream group representative such as NU (Nahdlatul Ulama) and Muhammadiyah two biggest Islamic groups in Indonesia, by making dialogues and complying the Islamic mainstream standards issued by MUI.*

**Keywords:** *Jam'iyyatul Islamiyah, Mainstream Islam, Majlis Tafsir Al Quran, LDII, Orthodoxy*

## Abstrak

*Tulisan ini mengkaji mengenai upaya gerakan-gerakan sempalan di Indonesia yaitu LDII (Lembaga Dakwah Islam Indonesia), MTA (Majlis Tafsir Al Quran), dan Jam'iyyatul Islamiyah mampu berkembang dakam menghadapi dua constraint (negara dan kelompok agama yang mapan). Tulisan ini termasuk penelitian studi pustaka. Penelitian ini disajikan dengan menggunakan analisis perbandingan dari ketiga gerakan. Dapat disimpulkan bahwa ketiga gerakan ini sama-sama mulai berkembang pada periode 1970-an dan mampu beradaptasi dengan baik dengan lingkungan sosial politik di Indonesia. Ketika negara cenderung otoriter seperti pada masa Orde Baru, ketiga gerakan ini melakukan pendekatan terhadap pemerintah dengan menjadi terlibat dalam kemenangan Golkar, guna melindungi eksistensi mereka di tengah tuduhan sesat. Namun, memasuki periode 1990'an, di mana pemerintah Suharto mulai merangkul kelompok Islam ortodoks, maka berlandung kepada pemerintah saja tidak cukup mampu menahan dirinya dari tuduhan sesat. Oleh sebab itu, ortodoksi gerakan adalah satu-satunya jalan untuk berasaptasi dengan kehidupan sosial politik semacam itu, terutama pada masa reformasi yang mana negara dan masyarakat memiliki otoritas yang berimbang*

**Kata Kunci:** Gerakan Sempalan, Golkar, Jam'iyyatul Islamiyah, LDII, MTA, Ortodoksi

## INTRODUCTION

Discussing splinter groups cannot be separated from religious orthodoxy. Orthodoxy means religious doctrines that are officially recognized by the established religious groups in Indonesia. Established religious groups also mean that they represent the religious majority of the community. In the context of Islam in Indonesia, Islamic orthodoxy is determined by the MUI as a representation of Sunni Muslims, the majority of whom are adhered to by Muslims in Indonesia. According to Martin van Bruinessen, the orthodoxy of Islam in Indonesia is not only represented by MUI but also represented by Syuriah in Nahdlatul Ulama, as the largest Islamic organization in Indonesia, and Majlis Tarjih in Muhammadiyah, as the second-largest Islamic organization representing Islamic modernism in Indonesia. (Bruinessen, 1992)

The splinter movement can be defined as a movement that opposes the religious practices of the orthodoxy, including its creeds and religious laws. Often, splinter movements in Indonesia face social and political problems due to its distinctive teaching and behavior. These movements are often perceived as heresy, thus can be convicted criminal by which its 'heretical teaching and exclusive behavior are considered disturbing public order. The term splinter movement (Gerakan sempalan) usually carries negative connotations, such as heresy because it is contrary to the understanding of the majority religion, an exclusive attitude that separates itself from social relations, rigid organization and truth claims and fanaticism (Burhanuddin, 2010). The examples of the movements are Ahmadiyya Qodian, Baha'i, Shi'a, Inkarus Sunnah, NII, Baitul Arqom (Malaysia), Isa Bugis, Qiyadah Islamiyah movement, Lia Eden, Divine Majesty Charity, and many sects in Sufism like Wahdatul Wujud, Tariq Mufarridiyah, and Namtaqiyah.

The PNPS Act of 1965 concerning the prevention from religious blasphemy is a legal pretext for convicting the splinter movement. The rules contain a prohibition on teaching, facilitating or carrying out activities that deviate from religious principles. Umi Sumbulah (2014) explained that new religious movements such as Salamullah and Lia Eden were punished by this regulation which was following MUI's fatwa of heresy. The rule can harness the development of new religious movements in Indonesia. This regulation is also an excuse for radical groups to execute splinter movements such as the persecution of Ahmadiyya and Shia group in Indonesia.

This paper examines the efforts of splinter movements in Indonesia, namely LDII (Indonesian Islamic Propagation Institute), MTA (Majlis Tafsir Al Quran), and Jam'iyyatul Islamiyah (JMI) on how they face two constraints, state and established religious groups (orthodox). In other words, this article examines their efforts to withstand the issue of heresy, not to be dissolved and to develop well in Indonesia. Then the next discussion revolves around their future projections on the development of these movements.

## **RESEARCH METHOD**

The methods of this research-based article are both library and field research. This article uses comparative analysis from the three movements include their adaptive means to the social and political milieu in Indonesia

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS**

### **A. Splinter Movements and Their Controversies**

#### **A.1. LDII**

Nur Hasan al-Ubaidah is the main figure who initiated the foundation teachings of the Lembaga Dakwah Islam Indonesia (LDII). Nur Hasan was the founder of the Wali Barokah Islamic boarding school in 1952. His full name is Nur Hasan al-Ubaidah Lubis bin Abdul bin Thahir bin Ershad. Even though he has a Batak's name, he was born in Bangi Village, Purwosari Subdistrict, Kediri Regency, East Java, in 1915, although there is another version that he was born in 1908. He started to learn Islam from his father, H. Abdul Aziz bin Thahir bin H Isyad. He was also educated in Islamic boarding schools such as Islamic boarding schools in Samelo, Perak Jombang, Balong Jeruk and it is said that he also studied at Lirboyo-Kediri, one of the major and well-known pesantren of Nahdhatul Ulama (NU) organization. After completed his informal education at several pesantren, he then began to teach religion to the community. Nur Hasan, for the first time, taught religion at Gading Mangu Jombang. He had the opportunity to teach in the village based on the request of H. Bey Prawiro Noto, the local village head who was Hasan al-Ubaidah's relative. His congregation was getting widespread, then he founded a religious group called Jamaah Quran and the Hadith, hereinafter it is commonly dubbed as Islam Jamaah.

Al-Ubaidah emphasized the formation of the identity of his community by asserting that it has different characteristics from other Islamic groups. The recruitment process was through the gethok tular method or by word of mouth and their participation was based on volunteerism.

Activities undertaken included recitation of the Koran and Hadith. Although his educational background was traditional Islamic-based boarding schools, his teachings emphasized on religious purification, by purifying religious practices that are assumed to have been mixed with local traditions, such as death and birth rituals, emphasized on *ijtihad* which is directly sourced from the Qur'an and Sunnah and instead *ijma'* ulama as a reference. The difference of his teaching from other Islamic groups can be seen from the place where Nur Hasan al Ubaidah movement began to grow, which was in East Java in the midst of a traditionalist Islamic society where NU is based.

The purification teaching of Islam Jamaah is actually the same as Muhammadiyah and Persis' but the difference is that Islamic Jamaah has a doctrine about the obligation to obey their leader. Members of the group had to do *bai'at* or take an oath to their imam who was Nur Hasan al-Ubaidah himself. According to Mundir Thohir (2009), Nur Hasan's ideas about the concept of Imamah, Bai'at, and Manqul were inspired by the doctrine of the world Khilafah from the Hezbollah Muslim Movement. At that time, this movement took allegiance to Wali al Fatah as a priest in 1954 in Jakarta. Wali al Fatah himself then served as Head of the Political Bureau at the Ministry of Home Affairs during the Sukarno's government. Whereas the theological evidence is based on the words of Umar bin Khattab who said 'there is no Islam except by jamaah (unity), no unity except leading by amir, no amir except by bai'ah. (Mundir Thohir, 2009: 14-15)

The controversy of this movement was partly due to the formulation of the 354 "system doctrine." Three (3) means al-Quran, Hadith and jama'ah. Five (5) means, the five legal requirements for understanding the Quran which is taking an oath of allegiance to the emir, which are learning, practicing the Quran, defending the emir, expressing solidarity with other members and obeying Allah, Rasulullah SAW, and the emir. The other four (4) is gratitude to the emir, glorifying him, and being earnest in prayer. Also, there is a religious learning system called *manqul*. *Manqul* means a learning system in which the transfer of knowledge is obtained and is not interrupted by the emir. (Limas Dodi, 2017: 227-246)

The polemic of the teaching of "354" lies on the doctrines of amir, jamaah, Bai'ah, and *manqul*. There is an assumption that the Nur Hasan Al ubaidah group does not include *ijma'* ulama as a source of law, instead emphasized the words of amir as a source of doctrines, in addition to the Koran and Hadith. This creed can be defined as an excessive cult against amir. Also, the concept of the congregation poses an exclusive attitude within the group. As a result. There were several rumors in society that Islam Jamaah made a truth claim of the teaching which in turn its member was unwilling to shake hands to the other, mop their mosque when an outsider was praying there. In the 1960s the people in East Java began unease to the development of LDII. So finally, the government stated banning all Islamic activities of Islam Jamaah. There was banning decree, among other from Pengawas Aliran Kepercayaan Masyarakat (PAKEM), Decree of the Commander of the VIII Brawijaya East Java Military Territory in 1967 regarding the ban on Darul Hadis, finally the prohibition decree of the Attorney General of the Republic of Indonesia through the Attorney General's Decree No. RI Kep-089 / DA / 10/1971 dated October 29, 1971. After that, in the 1970s the Central MUI officially issued a fatwa of the deviance to Islam Jamaah. Evidence of the misguidance of the Islamic Jamaah included: truth claim, severing relations with parents and other Muslims, unclean assumptions of an outsider, and public sermons were only validly recited

in Arabic. According to Limas Dodi (2017), before becoming the name of LDII as it is today, the Jamaah Islam had many names such as Pondok Darul Hadis in Kediri in 1957, the Islamic Foundation of the Jamaah (YPID) in 1971, the Djamaah Motor Club. After getting banned from the government in 1971, the member of Islam Jamaah then established Pondok Golkar to help the party win the 1971 General Election. In 1975, the Islam Jamaah alumnae community established the Yayasan Lembaga Karyawan Islam (LEMKARI) in East Java. Finally, the name LDII came into use in 1990.

Polemics and issues on the heresy of LDII have resulted in persecution from the community and a ban on the government. For example, the most famous persecution was when Benyamin Sueb's house, well-known as the greatest Indonesia comedian all the time, located in Kemayoran, was thrown into stone, cans, and wood by the mob on Friday afternoon, September 14, 1979. Fortunately, there was no significant damage, and he was not at home. Kemayoran was the basis of an anti-Islam Jamaah group. The Mubaligh Kemayoran Corps is known to strongly oppose the activities of the IJ and once published a booklet entitled " Heretical Misguided of the Islam Jamaat". Although Benyamin always denied being involved in the IJ, many witnesses said that his involvement in IJ was at the invitation of his friend Ida Royani who had already joined the group.

#### 1) MTA

MTA was founded by Abdullah Thufail Saputro. He was born in Pacitan, East Java on September 19, 1927. Abdullah Thufail Saputro's religious knowledge was initially taught by his father, who was known as a spiritual leader of the Naqsyabandiyah order. Little Saputro educated om modern schools such as Taman Siswa and Muhammadiyah. Also, Abdullah Thufail studied classical Islamic books at the Termas, Pacitan boarding school and the Popongan Delanggu Klaten boarding school. He is fluent in Arabic and read classical Islamic books such as tafsir, hadith, and books of fiqh (Islamic law) (Widodo, 2000: 24) After graduating from elementary school, Abdullah Thufail continued his high school education in Al-Irsyad Solo. Abdullah Thufail once joined as a member of the Islamic Da'wah Council (DDI). Abdullah Thufail's involvement in that movement seems to have been very influential in shaping MTA doctrine on Islamic purification.

In Solo, Abdullah Thufail Saputro began his missionary activities in the Semanggi Village, Pasar Kliwon District in the late 1960s. Pasar Kliwon District is located near to Surakarta Palace. In early 1972, he had taken the initiative to invite several Islamic organizations in Surakarta to form a unity among Islamic groups in Surakarta The organizations he invited were included: Muhammadiyah, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and PSII. However, his efforts did not meet the end. Since every Islamic organization has a different agenda, these organizations reject their ideas. Although his ideas failed to meet the consensus to form a single organization, Abdullah Thufail then formed a group of religious teaching which became the forerunners of the MTA.

Abdullah Thufail then formalized his religious study circle on January 23, 1974, which was named the Majlis Tafsir Al Quran (MTA). MTA was officially established based on Islam. Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. In the inauguration party of his new organization, he invited the Surakarta Regiment 074 Commander Lieutenant Colonel Prayitno and several top officials of

the Surakarta Government. While K.H Ali Darokah, chairman of the MUI at the time gave a speech on the inauguration ceremony (Widodo. 1998: 36).

After the death of Abdullah Thufail Saputro in 1992, several MTA officials gathered to hold a meeting to appoint his successor. They appointed Ahmad Sukino as the highest leader of the organization or Imam of the MTA to date. Sukino himself was born in Gawok Sukoharjo, Central Java. His primary education was completed in Sragen. While his secondary education is from Religious Teachers School (PGA) in Surakarta. After graduating from the PGA, Sukino served at SD Muhammadiyah Makamhaji until he was appointed as a civil servant. Before joining MTA, he was active in Pemuda Muhammadiyah Surakarta. He then continued his undergraduate studies at the Tarbiyah Faculty, Muhammadiyah University, Surakarta. After completing his bachelor's degree, Sukino joined MTA. He was known as the most loyal student of Abdullah Thufail. Sukino was sent to Pakistan by Abdullah Thufail to study dakwah with Jema'ah Tabligh.

The existence of MTA is quite controversial among traditionalist Islamic society. MTA uses purification as a jargon of the movement that is clearly and continually conveyed through its lectures that are broadcast on the radio. Through the radio, MTA criticized popular rituals in society such as tahlilan, yasinan, mendak, and kenduri which were assumed heresy and also the practice of shamans, the use of talismans to obtain safety, strength, wealth and so on which were seen as infidelity to the God. The means of its da'wah often offend other Muslims, especially from traditionalist Muslims. The traditionalist feels anxious about its dakwah methods. Various rejections of this movement occurred in many cities in Central Java, such as in Blora, Sragen, Kudus, and others. Even, the chairman of PBNU Dr. Said Aqil Siradz also had responded MTA by criticizing it in the Jawa Pos daily on April 5, 2011, with an opinion entitled "Responding to the Purification Outage".

Rumors about the MTA's heresy that differed from mainstream Islam emerged in 1979 in an article published in Tempo Magazine dated September 22, 1979. This article reported that MTA doctrines were related to the Islam Jama'ah or Darul Hadist which was declared heresy by MUI in 1970. Both MTA and LDII have the teaching of bai'at for their followers to the leader of the movements. This is what distinguishes MTA from other mainstream Islamic movements, both Muhammadiyah and NU.

Widodo noted that there were assaults of MTA building in Klaten Kota on July 23, 1978, and Tulung District in Klaten Regency on September 10, 1978, by the local Muhammadiyah youth organization. In the same year, the refusal of MTA even led to the persecution of its members which was carried out by the Muhammadiyah Youth in the Gemolong District of Sragen. (Widodo, 1998) Rejection of MTA due to rumors that this movement adheres to the Inkarus Sunnah. This assumption lies in the issue of haram-halal dog meat. MTA does not forbid but also does not justify it, because the Koran does not mention that the dog meat is forbidden to be eaten. This is because of a methodological problem that the hadith can be set aside if it contradicts the Qur'an.

Even so, the rumors of Inkarus Sunnah in MTA are difficult to prove at this time, because MTA also uses authentic hadith as a reference in religion. Even Ahmad Sukino said that without a hadith, one would have difficulty in carrying out worship. MTA is also considered not to recognize the existence of ijma' ulama because according to them ijma' ulama cannot be used as guidance

## 2) Jam'iyyatul Islamiyah

In 1971 on Friday, March 12, 1971, in Sungai Penuh, Kerinci Regency, Jambi Province, a charismatic religious leader named Karim Djamak was inaugurating a new religious group in front of the mass. The group he led was officially given the name Jam'iyyatul Islamiyah (JMI). Before JMI was established, actually Karim Djamak had founded a recitation group called Urwatul Wusqo but then it was disbanded in 1963.

Abd. Karim Jamak was born in Kerinci Jambi district in Tanjung Rawang village, Hamparan Rawang sub-district in 1906 AD or 12 Rabiul Awal 1326 H. He was born to the couple Tengku Muhammad Jumat (father) and Hj. Sa'minah (mother), bint Muhammad. Karim Djmak never took religious education in Islamic education institutions such as pesantren, he got religious education for the first time from his parents. Apart from his parents, he studied religion from his uncle named Kh. Muhammad Thaib and Kh. Kari Ahmad is his mother's uncle. He also received guidance from Sheikh Muhammad Khatib Kadhi his grandfather who was then serving as a religious judge in the Regency of Kerinci (Jam'iyyatul Islamiyah, 1994: 1).

In 1955 the people who followed his preaching formed a religious movement initiated by Alamsyah and Haji Adnan Arif The recitation group was then given the name "Urwatul Wutsqa" which was chaired by Alamsyah himself. The group was not only Abdul Karim Jamak, a teacher but also other scholars such as H. Adnan Arif, H. Ahmad, Ustaz M. Nur, Ustaz A. Walid, Ustaz Khatib Arifin (Zuhdi bin Ismail 2011: p. 35). As its name Urwatul Wutsqa, it resembles a 19th-century Islamic political movement in Egypt that focuses on education founded by Djamaluddin Al-afghani.

Because of his involvement as a teacher in Urwatul Wutsqa movement, the figure of Kh. Abd. Karim Djama' was increasingly popular. His students come from various regions both rural and urban area. His expertise as a spiritual teacher was because his teaching was easy to be understood. According to Zuhdi, the dominant figure and leadership shown by Kh. Abd. Karim Jama had lead to internal conflict. In another word, the tension was also caused by the jealousy of his friends towards Karim Jamak. This led to the split of Urwatul Wutsqa's leadership.

According to Zuhdi (2011: p, 78) because of internal conflict, several members of the organization submitted a request to the government to dissolve Urwatul Wutsqa movement. According to him the government and also the Sriwijaya Regional Military Commander IV finally disbanded the Urwatul Wutsqa organization with letter number: 031/1963 on 19 April 1963. "(1994: 2). Zuhdi's statement that the members requested the government to dissolve their movement is questionable. This is not common in Indonesia, the government usually disbanded a movement if it is perceived as endangering state security and disturbing public peace, especially in this case where the military is involved. The fact is that the moment of the dissolution of Urwatul Wutsqo was at the same time to the PRRI rebellion that occurred in 1958-1959 which led to the dissolution of the Masyumi Party in 1960, which in that year the South Sumatra region was the basis of PRRI and Masyumi supporters.

After the dissolution of Urwatul Wutsqa, Karim Jamak subsequently joined the PSII (Indonesian Islamic Sarekat Party) in October 1964. In the PSII, Kerinci Branch, he was entrusted

to hold the position of head deputy of the Sharia branch of the Islamic Council of Kerinci Branch based on a letter-number 73 / PSII / 1966 on 18 August 1966 (Zuhdi, 2011 para 79).

Karim Djamak's activities in PSSI lasted for approximately five years. Subsequently, he left PSII, which was followed by his students. In 1971 on March 12, Karim Jamak, together with Major Min Harapat as the head of the Golkar Joint Secretariat of Kerinci Regency, established a religious movement. And the movement was named Jam'iyatul Islamiyah, as a supporter of Golkar (Jamiatul Islamiyah, 1994: 3).

Controversies revolve around Karim Djama' teaching was about Muhammad's prophecy. According to him, Muhammad has two forms.

- a) Muhammad bin Abdullah (Nabiyyil Ummi) has died, his tomb is located in the Prophet's Mosque of Medina.
- b) Muhammad 'Abdi Rasulullah is not male and not female, does not vanish and can live within the heart of human beings.

For Karim Djamak, the meaning of "Prophecy" is in the message revealed by Allah to each prophet. In his writing on "Muslim Guidelines", in the section on the direction of the Prophet, Karim Plural revealed that human attitudes toward the Prophet include 4 things: first, Love of all the prophets, second, following all the words of the prophet, third, stay away from everything that the Prophet hates and fourth, Reading Shalawat (Djamak tt: 8 quoted from Zuhdi, 2011, para 84).

Also, there are many rumors in the community that members of JMI perform Hajj in Kerinci. The polemic in the community was finally responded by the government and mainstream religious leaders who issued heretical statements related to this movement, among them were issued by the West Sumatra High Prosecutor's Office, West Sumatra MUI, and Jambi MUI.

1. Decree of the Chief of the West Sumatra High Prosecutor's Office Number: KEP B.92 / J.3.3 / 11/1981 concerning the Prohibition of Jam'iyatul Islamiyah teachings by K.H.A. Karim Djamak that Expanded / Developed by Darussamin Datuk Pangka Sinaro.
2. The statement of the Indonesian Ulema Council of West Sumatra Province towards the Al Jam'iyatul Islamiyah Organization: "Al Jam'iyatul Islamiyah Organization in West Sumatra Province is partly misleading and heresy and therefore we cannot acknowledge its existence and support the West Sumatra Kejati SK banned the activities of this organization since 1981".
3. Indonesian Ulema Council I Jambi Province Letter Number A114 / MUI / JBI / VII / 1994 dated 19 July 1994 addressed to the MUI Leadership Council in Jakarta. The letter was stated that MUI Dati I Jambi has examined and interrogated K.H.A. Karim Djamak's teaching. The results of the examination are K.H.A. Karim Djamak is one of Urwatul Watsqo's teacher who had been banned by the authorities. When the interrogation process Karim Djama' was not able to read the Qur'an properly.

Although the three movements are exposed to the issue of heresy, they have different levels. LDII was labeled heretic by the central MUI, while Jam'iyatul Islamiyah was declared heretical fatwas



by the regional level MUI namely the West Sumatra and Jambi MUI. While MTA has never received a fatwa of deviance, it has already been exposed to negative rumors because its teaching is similar to the Islam Jamaah.

While the type of movement, both LDII and MTA are purification movements that are not much different from the Salafi, Muhammadiyah and Persis movements, but LDII and MTA have bai'ait teachings and Imamat or imams. While on the other hand the Jam'iyyatul Islamiyah movement can be categorized as an urban Sufism movement. This movement is more focused on fostering spirituality of the soul by providing a deep understanding of the Koran and implementing it in everyday lives.

## **B. The Effort to Withstand from Heretical Issues**

In its development, a social movement in Indonesia will always face with two constraints, namely society, and the state. Therefore, to develop or at least survive, a new religious movement should adopt two approaches, namely the approach to the authorities and the community.

State-oriented movement is a strategy chosen by a movement when facing an authoritarian state. The tyrant believes that strong control, homogenization, and hegemony over ideology can cause stability. Dissent is not possible, since a revolutionary form can be the continuum, and led to the overthrow of the regime. Then it is inevitable for a religious movement to comply and subjected to the regime.

Meanwhile, society-oriented movements occur in democratic societies where ideological contestation is more open. However, the dominant community group always has more power by creating majority-minority discourse. If the condition of such a society, To survive, a new religious movement should make effective communication both to the public and to the community's elites.

### **1) The approaches to the Authority**

As is known, the New Order government is very strict in controlling all social movements, ranging from political parties to social organizations. To control religious movements, the New Order used the Community Trust Oversight (PAKEM) under the Prosecutor's Office which was assisted by the religious department and the security apparatus from both the police and the military. If it is considered disturbing the stability of the country, the state does not hesitate to disperse the movements. Therefore, if it is felt that religious movements conflict with mainstream groups, the only way is to move closer to the government

The three movements were born under the New Order Era. Although the embryo of LDII has existed since the 1950s after it was disbanded in 1971, this movement revived again to form Pondok Golkar in 1971, then it was officially transformed to LEMKARI in 1975 and finally change its name to LDII in 1990. On the other hand, MTA was established in 1974 while Jam'iyyatul Islamiyyah was established in 1971 the same year as the establishment of the Pondok Golkar as an incarnation of the Islamic Jamaah / Darul Hadis.

All LDII, MTA, and JMI have been politically affiliated with Golkar. After getting banned in 1971, Golkar subordinated Nur Hasan al-Ubaidah's followers so that the Pondok Golkar was established in Kediri in 1971. The New Order government was involved in the change of its name

from Islam Jamaah to LEMKARI. the former members of Jemaah Islam agreed to channel their political aspirations to Golkar in general election. They took steps to be involved in the Golkar Secretariat through a letter of recommendation dated December 2, 1970, Number B349 / SBK / XII / 1970 signed by Mayjen S. Sukowati. This cooptation as part of New Order government strategies to win Golkar in the 1971 Election. Burengan boarding school alumnae who were affiliated to Golkar has subsequently institutionalized a new name of a movement called LEMKARI (Islamic Employees' Institution) at the alumni meeting on 9-10 February 1975. Although in management LEMKARI was separated from the Jamaah Islam from Nur Hasan al Ubaidah, there were no differences in the teaching based on Nur Hasan al Ubaidah doctrines. The improvement of the LEMKARI organization could not be separated from the active role of the Chairperson of the Golkar DPP, Amir Murtono, S.H. LEMKARI's intimate relationship with Golkar continued in the 1977, 1982 and 1987 general elections.

After the Reformation, LDII broke away from its practical political form, it has no longer participated in Golkar. However, with its large number of followers and branches spread throughout Indonesia, this movement has a fairly strong bargaining position in the political context. Many elite politicians are asking for support. In the 2009 presidential election, the LDII central leaders held a friendly meeting with two presidential candidates, Jusuf Kalla and Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) who were then still serving as president until 2014. Also, a few days later it was followed by the presence of the General Chairperson of the National Mandate Party (PAN) Soetrisno Bachir. SBY requested the support from LDII in 2009 Presidential Election.

Although it can develop rapidly, the existence of LEMKARI was rocked by mainstream Islamic groups who still anxious about this movement. LEMKARI is again banned by the Governor of East Java, Soelarlo, with Decree No. 618 of 1988. The ban came into force on 25 December 1988 at the urging of the East Java MUI because the behavior of LEMKARI members was considered disturbing the Islamic community.

Again, this movement changed its name in 1990. In the LEMKARI VI, a Large Consultative Forum in Jakarta LEMKARI transformed into LDII. Rudini, the interior minister, had a big role in the process of changing this name. Besides the name LEMKARI is also used by the Karatedo Indonesia institution, the name LEMKARI bore negative image because MUI fatwa said that LEMKARI was the same as the Islam Jamaah. The change from LEMKARI and LDII has not been followed by the change in its purification teaching, what has changed is the exclusive behavior of Islam Jamaah to be inclusive in its interaction patterns. (Hilmi, 2017) The 1990's New Order government was trying to embrace Islamic orthodox groups. Therefore, LDII then needed to negotiate with both the state and mainstream Islamic groups to survive.

MTA, like LDII, was an important part of the Golkar winning team in Solo and its surroundings. His involvement in politics caused much controversy among Muslims. But for MTA, it was a political choice as part of the da'wah strategy. From the perspective of movement's interaction, this political strategy is also part of efforts to survive and maintain the continuity of the movement.

In 1980 the MTA officially declared its involvement into Golkar. This move had received a reaction from the Islamic Ummah both positive and negative. However, at that time (circa 1978-

1982) the Muslims still had the assumption that Golkar did not represent the aspirations of the Islamic Society.

MTA was involved in the Golkar's campaign team in the 1982 election by forming the Golkar's Youth Wing Task Force (AMPI) of the Ex-Surakarta Residency. Its involvement was inaugurated by one of the administrators of the Golkar Central I Regional Leadership Council, Mr. Yusuf Ruhhayat, SH. the MTA and AMPI Task Force always worked under the coordination and direction of the DPD II AMPI Surakarta. Moreover, MTA also involved in Golkar's regional level and first level congress in Central Java as participants.

In 5-7 September 1988 Central Java Golkar's General meeting through its spokesperson, MTA expressed its general view of no more than two minutes whose contents were "Don't seek life from Golkar but make Golkar alive". The general view of the MTA received a special response from the leadership of the Central Java Golkar DPD I to be discussed at the commission meeting. Al-Ustadz Abdullah Thufail Saputro was elected and appointed as a member of the Golkar Advisory Council of the Kodya Surakarta. In the management of the Golkar DPD II, from 1989-1993 Ustadz Abdullah Thufail Saputro was elected and reappointed as a member of the Golkar Advisory Council.

After the 1998 reforms, MTA withdrew its support from Golkar and did not involve itself in practical politics and forbade its citizens from practicing politics. MTA's neutral political stance is a da'wah political strategy that maintains a commitment to move in the field of Islamic da'wah. How many Islamic organizations have plunged into politics - and become political parties - then disbanded because of defeat? MTA members must not be active in any party, even if they only join the campaign to maintain the unity of the Muslims.. MTA is an independent institution and commits as the missionary movement, trying to become neutral in politics and embracing all political parties. Even MTA does not show its support for certain political parties, it does not mean that this organization closing its door for all political parties which want to visit.

Jam'iyyatul Islamiyah is the same as LDII / Lemkari who entered the Golkar Joint Secretariat. In 1971 March 12, Karim Jamak together with Major Min Harapat as chairman of the Golkar Joint Secretariat of Kerinci, inaugurated a new organization called Jam'iyyatul Islamiyah. (Jamiatul Islamiyah, 1994: 3). His association with the ruling party of the New Order era made Jamiyyatul Islamiyah widely known. From his involvement in Golkar Karim Djama' had opportunities to give sermons in many regions in Indonesia.

In 1980, the committee of Majelis Da'wah Islamiyah Golkar with its letter dated August 21, 1980, even appointed Karim Djamak as Muballigh (preacher) of Majelis Da'wah Islamiyah (Golkar Islamic division) at the national level (Jamiyyatul Islamiyah, 1994: p.3). His involvement in Golkar gave him access to promulgate his teaching throughout the archipelago. The scope of his da'wah was even wider, he was even invited to give lectures and teach religion to neighboring countries such as Malaysia and Singapore. Because of his stature at the time, he was even invited by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to perform hajj and enter Muhammad grave in Medina as well as a friendly meeting with government officials (Zuhdi 2011, para 80).

The current JMI's main adviser is Dr. Aswin Rose. In 1972 he was the personal physician of the group's current chairman General Amir Murtono. Most likely the meeting between Karim

Djamak and Dr. Aswin Rose was mediated by their activities in Golkar. Aswin Rose was eventually interested in learning and joining Jamiyyatul Islamiyyah. If Karim Djamak is the founder of the teachings, then Dr. Aswin Rose is the developer of the movement. He has connections with New Order officials. In 1990, Aswin Rose even became the personal physician of several state ministers such as Prof. Ir. Sutami was Minister of Political Public Works and Azwar Anas, Coordinating Minister for People's Welfare. Even Azwar Anas himself is a member of the advisory board of Jam'iyyatul Islamiyah.

## 2) The Approaches to Islamic orthodox groups

Despite having strong affiliations with the government, these three movements cannot necessarily avoid heretical issues. If LDII and Jam'iyyatul Islamiyah have ever received misguided fatwas, on the contrary MTA has never, then these movements used different strategies. But still, the three movements have to adapt its teaching to orthodoxy standards which are mainstream in Indonesia Islam. The difference is that LDII and Jam'iyyatul Islamiyah still need to change the paradigm of their teachings, whereas for MTA it is sufficient to approach the mainstream Islamic groups. Moreover, after the 1998 reformation era, the State can no longer be relied upon to protect the splinter movement. The authority has been divided, the dominant community groups can pressure the government. To survive, the splinter movements must be able to adapt their movements toward mainstream Islam.

LDII intensively conducted a post-2007 National Meeting which was attended by all provincial-level officials in response to the decision of the MUI Fatwa Commission Number 03 / Kep / KF-MUI / IX / 2006 dated 11 Syaban 1427 H / September 2006 concerning the LDII. In Act 2 and 3 of the decree, those are written as follows:

1) Amar 2 - Requires clarification to be carried out by LDII administrators at the provincial and district/city levels, as well as by the Central LDII Leader to the Central MUI. Clarification at the provincial and district/city level is carried out by LDII management at each level to MUI at each of the same levels;

2) Amar 3 - Suggest (a) that the Central Leadership Council should immediately hold a National Conference / Rakernas and make a decision on this matter so that there is a common perception in LDII to the lowest level, and (b) Hold a press conference regarding the clarification statement to be known by all LDII residents in particular and Muslims in general.

Furthermore, the LDII DPP continues to disseminate to the Provincial LDII DPD to hold vertical communication with the organizational level below (DPD LDII Regency / City to PC / PAC) to clarify in various forms of coordination and cooperation activities with all organizational stakeholders. Based on DPP monitoring and also based on reports from DPD LDII Provinces throughout Indonesia, the complete clarification materials are as follows:

1. A full explanation (socialization) of the 2007 National Working Meeting results, including an explanation of the LDII New Paradigm;

2. Explanation of MUI Fatwa No. 03 / Kep / KF-MUI / IX / 2006 dated September 4, 2006, concerning the Indonesian Islamic Propagation Institute, especially regarding LDII's obligation to clarify to the grassroots level;

3. Results of the 2007 MUI National Working Meeting, especially regarding the clarification of the MUI Fatwa regarding the Criteria for Heretical Flow. On the opportunity of clarification with LDII parties, it has been confirmed that LDII does not belong to a deviant sect;

4. An explanation that LDII has the same aqeedah as held by other Muslims and of course it is based on the guidelines of the Muslims themselves, namely the Qur'an and al-Hadith. Understanding aqidah is a binding belief in the heart of what must be believed or what must be believed by someone;

5. Explanation of LDII's position consistently in its commitment in supporting the implementation and decision of IJTIMA 'ULAMA COMMISSION FATWA II INDONESIA 2006 in Gontor, Ponorogo, 2006, namely the decision of the Commission A on Masail Diniyyah Wathaniyyah, as follows:

- a. Confirmation of the Form and Existence of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia;
- b. Harmonization of Religious Thinking Framework in National Contexts;
- c. Taswiyatul Manhaj: Equalizing Mindset in Religious Issues
- d. Tansiq Al-Harakah: Coordination of Strategic Steps in Religious Issues. (Dodi, 2017)

Like LDII, Jam'iyyatul Islamiyah carried out the orthodoxy of the movement. This movement also changes the paradigm of its movement by adjusting its movements under the directions of the MUI. Furthermore, Jam'iyyatul Islamiyah, like LDII, opted to cooperate by coming to the call of the Central MUI to be asked for information about its religious understanding. They came represented by DPP Jam'iyyatul Islamiyah Jakarta. According to Kustini (2009) initially it did not recognize heresy allegations but according to MUI there were irregularities in the Jam'iyyatul Islamiyah guidebook published by DPP Jam'iyyatul Islamiyah Jakarta. There was no meaningful debate between the Central MUI and Jam'iyyatul Islamiyah. They want to admit that there is a mistake in their understanding. Interestingly, they even asked the Central MUI to continue to provide guidance.

Another effort undertaken by Jam'iyyatul Islamiyah was on June 3, 1994, representatives of this movement met with Prof. K.H. Ibrahim Hosen M.L.M as chairman of the Central Indonesian Ulema Council Fatwa Commission to ask him to become an advisor to Jam'iyyatul Islamiyah. Kh, Ibrahim Hosen recommends that Jam'iyyatul Islamiyah's notes on the Prayer Pillars contained in the Jam'iyyatul Islamiyah guidebook compiled by Darussamin Datuk Pangka Sinaro were no longer used by Jam'iyyatul Islamiyah. Prof. K.H. Ibrahim Hosen M.L.M ordered the Central Board of Jam'iyyatul Islamiyah (DPP Jam'iyyatul Islamiyah) in Jakarta, to make instructions to the entire range of Jam'iyyatul Islamiyah throughout Indonesia so that the writings were not used and left behind.

The Indonesian Ulema Council even issued a new fatwa, to correct the previous fatwa regarding Jam'iyyatul Islamiyah. MUI issues the following decree:

The decision of the Indonesian Ulema Council Number: 124 / MUI-SB / IV / 2008 April 9, 2008, including (Kustini , 2009)

1. Jam'iyyatul Islamiyah developed by Bp. Darus-Samin Datuk Pangka Sinaro (Alm), has nothing to do with Jam'iyyatul Islamiyah which was founded by Buya KH. Abdul Karim Djamak or later followed by Dr. H. Aswin Rose.
2. Continuing the gradual improvement of priorities initiated by the Department of Da'wah DPP Jam'iyyatul Islamiyah to the lowest level, namely placing experts in religious backgrounds to serve as preachers.
3. Eliminating habits, attributes, images and photographs that can and always cause slander in the community.
4. Reinforce organizational policy lines according to the provisions and organizational procedures under applicable laws and regulations and adjust to the pace of reforms.
5. Melegal formalize the Statutes and Bylaws
6. Registering the Jam'iyyatul Islamiyah Organization with the Directorate General of Kesbangpol (for the central level) and the Kesbanglinmas Office (for the regional level).
7. Increasing cooperation and consultation with the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) from the central to regional levels, especially with the Central MUI.

Recommendations given by the Indonesian Ulema Council include (Kustini, 2009)

- 1) To face challenges from various parties, Jam'iyyatul Islamiyah should continue to make improvements in and out. The internal improvement was carried out among others by continuing to improve religious knowledge and practices for his followers to dismiss the allegation that Jam'iyyatul Islamiyah lacked human resources that were recognized by the depth of religious knowledge. Settling out among others by continuing to develop an inclusive attitude, opening up to other Islamic organization groups. This can be done, for example, by inviting various prominent Islamic organizations in various events held by Jam'iyyatul Islamiyah in the Center and Regions.
- 2). As an organization that is and continues to develop, Jam'iyyatul Islamiyah has not displayed any characteristics or characteristics in developing its organization or teachings. Activities carried out such as recitation or preaching, social activities, or the establishment of mosques and prayer rooms are activities that are also carried out by other Islamic groups. Therefore, inward guidance should also be directed to determine the characteristics of Jam'iyyatul Islamiyah by sticking to the basic teachings of Islam as expressed in the Guidebook.
- 3) The Directorate General of Islamic Community Guidance of the Department of Religion in collaboration with the Indonesian Ulema Council organizes a periodic meeting agenda that presents Islamic religious organization leaders. Agenda that can be carried out at the meeting include silaturahmi, socialization of various government policies regarding religious life, as well as the socialization of various programs that have been prepared by religious organizations. Meetings like this will improve communication and minimize suspicion between Islamic religious organizations.

Besides that, a religious social activity can be arranged which involves various religious groups or organizations facilitated by the Ministry of Religion.

4) The Indonesian Ulema Council will continue to foster other religious groups, especially religious groups suspected of spreading teachings that are different from other Muslims. The coaching model and approach taken towards Jam'iyyatul Islamiyah should also be used for other Islamic groups or organizations.

In contrast to LDII and Jam'iyyatul Islamiyah who need to change the paradigm of their movements, MTA only needs to take a personal approach from the Central MUI management, by involving them in MTA activities. MTA has a close relationship with MUI. MTA in several districts/cities has been included in the management of MUI. MUI Chairperson Solo Dr.dr Zainal Arifin Adnan often accompanied Al Ustadz Ahmad Sukino to be a speaker in the inauguration of the new branch of MTA. As in the inauguration of the MTA branch Purworejo (Central Java) to the MTA branch of Kampar Regency (Riau Province) and many other areas. As if being a spokesperson for MTA, Dr. Zainal Arifin always said that MTA is not a splinter or heresy, because it has become part of Muslims in carrying out da'wah. The relationship between MTA and MUI was also marked by the invitation of several MUI central figures such as K.H Amidhan and Prof. Dr. Amin Suma to fill in the recitation and be a speaker in every new branch opening. It can be said that almost every development of this movement in the new area always cooperates with MUI.

## CONCLUSION

In the context of Indonesia, a splinter movement will always be faced with two constraints, namely society, and the state. Therefore, to develop or at least survive, a new religious movement should be able to adapt to two patterns of approach, namely the approach to the authorities and society. In the case of LDII, MTA, and Jam'iyyatul Islamiyah, these three movements have proven to be able to adapt well to the socio-political environment in Indonesia.

When the state tended to be authoritarian as in the New Order era, the three movements approached the government by becoming involved in winning Golkar, to protect their existence amid false charges. Entering the 1990s, during which the Suharto government began to embrace orthodox Islamic groups, then taking refuge with the government alone was not enough to be able to restrain itself from heresy.

Therefore, the orthodoxy of the movement is the only way to adapt to such social and political life, especially in a period of reform in which the state and society have balanced authority. LDII and Jam'iyyatul Islamiyah who have received a misguided fatwa by the Indonesian Ulema Council began to change the paradigm of the movement in another sense to form a more inclusive movement, especially among Muslims. Orthodoxy by LDII and Jamiyyatul Islamiyah began by adjusting its teachings and movements under the directions of the MUI, while on the other hand, MTAs who were never accused of heresy were sufficient to approach orthodox groups both MUI, modernist groups, and traditionalist Islam who had been opponents of this movement.

For the current and future context, a new splinter / religious movement must not only approach the dominant Islamic state and group but must be able to adapt itself to the digital world. If so far only the press has been able to produce discourse, with the internet, anyone can contest informing discourse. Before the rise of the internet, the press plays an important role in reproducing misguided issues in society, as a result of discrimination and persecution often experienced by adherents of new religious movements (Cahyana, 2003).

Nowadays internet algorithms can play a developing issue. Googling the name of one of the splinter movements above, then many misguided issues still appear on the first page of the Google search engine. The three movements have tried to refute the heretical issues that have developed through the internet. In adapting to this digital environment LDII may be more advanced than the other two movements. LDII has an official website, active on social media such as Instagram, and a quite crowded YouTube channel. While MTA discusses a lot of their preaching through their YouTube channel, but for other social media, it is still less active. While Jamiyyatul Islamiyah doesn't have much anti-internet behavior. The production of discourse from this group did not come from the official account of this movement, but the blogs of its followers, and the writings made by the leaders of this movement such as Prof. Imam Suprayogo at UIN Malang's WEB portal.



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